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**1991/06/14**

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ACTION: EAP (01)

C17/24 013831 NOD944

INFO: S (03) D (01) P (01) C (01) SS (10) SWO (01) SSO (01) SSS (01)  
T (01) CATC (01) INR (01) SP (01)

----- 14/0132Z A2 TCK (TOTAL COPIES: 024)  
SUB: U/S BARTHOLOMEW'S 6/13 MTG W/ ZHU: CHINA TRIP AGENDA  
INR-E.O. MULHOLLAND; SP-E.O. ROSS

S/S- 8,9

ACAA - Lehman-16  
NISCOR 6/14  
CIA 15  
PM - NOTES COPY

MRF - 17  
MRF - 13  
2004-12-10

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United States Department of State  
Office of FDI, Privacy, & Classification Review  
Review Authority: MILLER, ROBERT  
Date: 06/12/96  
Case ID: 9004915A

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 /000R

DRAFTED BY: EAP/CM: JKEITH: JRK

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[REDACTED] DATE 194972

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CAPTION REMOVED BY S/S (TY) ON 6/11/96

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PARM, CH

SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY BARTHOLOMEW'S JUNE 13 MEETING  
WITH AMBASSADOR ZHU: PREVIEW OF HIS CHINA TRIP AGENDA

1. [REDACTED]

2. SUMMARY. U/S BARTHOLOMEW PREVIEWED HIS CHINA TRIP  
AGENDA DURING A JUNE 13 MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR ZHU.  
BARTHOLOMEW THANKED ZHU FOR HIS HELP IN ARRANGING A FULL  
SCHEDULE THAT SIGNALLED A GOOD BEGINNING TO THE TRIP.  
BARTHOLOMEW NOTED THAT NONPROLIFERATION ISSUES WOULD BE A  
CENTERPIECE OF HIS DISCUSSIONS AND HE SUGGESTED TO ZHU  
THAT THE CHINESE SIDE CONSIDER THE ISSUANCE OF A JOINT  
STATEMENT AT THE END OF BARTHOLOMEW'S TRIP. END SUMMARY.

3. UNDER SECRETARY BARTHOLOMEW CALLED PRC AMBASSADOR ZHU  
IN ON JUNE 13 TO PREVIEW HIS CHINA TRIP AND CONVEY HIS

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APPRECIATION FOR THE SCHEDULE THE CHINESE SIDE HAD PROVIDED THROUGH EMBASSY BEIJING BARTHOLOMEW NOTED THAT HE WAS VERY PLEASED WITH THE SCHEDULE THOUGHT THAT IT AUGURED WELL FOR THE TRIP AND THAT HE HOPED ZHU WOULD CONVEY TO BEIJING THAT HE HAD NOTED AND APPRECIATED THE FULL SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS THAT HAD BEEN LAID ON FOR HIM.

4. BARTHOLOMEW SAID HE WAS GOING TO CHINA TO DO TWO THINGS: (1) ADVANCE RELATIONS IN A STRATEGIC SENSE AND (2) CONTRIBUTE TO THE ONGOING PROCESS OF ADVANCING OUR RELATIONS GENERALLY IN A TACTICAL SENSE. I.E. IN THE REAL WORLD POLITICAL CONTEXT, INCLUDING THE MFN DEBATE AND OTHER FACTORS HERE IN THE U.S. AND DOMESTICALLY IN CHINA THAT RELATE TO THE ATMOSPHERE OF OUR TIES. BARTHOLOMEW HOPED HE WOULD HAVE A BROAD RANGE OF DISCUSSIONS IN CHINA, KEEPING IN MIND THESE TWO CONTEXTS.

5. BARTHOLOMEW PROVIDED ZHU WITH A BRIEF OUTLINE OF HIS AGENDA TO BE COMMUNICATED TO BEIJING. HE NOTED THAT HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TALK ABOUT OUR STRATEGIC OUTLOOK, INCLUDING OUR VIEW OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER, OUR STRATEGIC TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, INCLUDING START AND CFE ISSUES, AND WHERE WE SAW THINGS GOING STRATEGICALLY IN EUROPE. ON THE BILATERAL SIDE BARTHOLOMEW NOTED HE WOULD ADDRESS SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ISSUES AND TECHNOLOGY TRADE, AREAS FOR WHICH HE HAD RESPONSIBILITY WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT.

6. BARTHOLOMEW SAID THAT HE WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS NONPROLIFERATION ISSUES AND THAT THESE WOULD BE CENTRAL IN BOTH THE STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL CONTEXTS HE HAD NOTED PREVIOUSLY. BARTHOLOMEW CONVEYED HIS HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS DURING HIS DISCUSSIONS IN BEIJING, AND PERHAPS THE TWO SIDES WOULD BE ABLE TO REACH SOME UNDERSTANDINGS DURING HIS VISIT, WHICH--IF PROPERLY MANAGED--COULD ADD POSITIVE MOMENTUM TO OUR RELATIONS. IN PARTICULAR, SUCH A DEVELOPMENT COULD HELP THE

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ADMINISTRATION DEAL WITH MFN AND CRITICISM OF OUR CHINA  
POLICY.

7. WITH RESPECT TO SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE, BARTHOLOMEW BEGAN WITH THE MISSILE ISSUE. (HE NOTED THAT HE EXPECTED NO ANSWERS FROM ZHU, BUT RATHER WAS LAYING OUT THE ITEMS THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE IN BEIJING.) BARTHOLOMEW CITED THREE SPECIFIC ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED IN THIS AREA:

-- HE HOPED WE WOULD BE ABLE TO COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING THAT WOULD ELIMINATE THE AMBIGUITY ON WHAT THE CHINESE SIDE MEANS BY "MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILE "

-- HE HAD LOOKED CAREFULLY AT THE CHINESE RESERVATIONS ON MAKING A COMMITMENT TO OBSERVE MTCR GUIDELINES AND HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS THEM.

BARTHOLOMEW ADDED THAT THESE WERE PUT TO ZHU UNVARNISHED FOR THE SAKE OF CLARITY IN TRANSMISSION TO BEIJING, AND THAT THEY WERE BY NO MEANS CONDITIONS OR DEMANDS.

8. ON THE NUCLEAR SIDE, BARTHOLOMEW RECALLED THE FRENCH DECISION TO JOIN THE NPT AND NOTED THAT CHINA WAS ALONE AMONG THE PERM FIVE OUTSIDE THE NPT. HE SAID HE WOULD ASK ZHU'S COLLEAGUES IN BEIJING TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY JOINING THE NPT AND TAKING THE FURTHER STEP OF ADOPTING NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GUIDELINES, WHICH HE WOULD ALSO WANT TO TALK ABOUT IN SOME DETAIL IN BEIJING.

9. BARTHOLOMEW NOTED THAT THESE TWO STEPS. PARTICULARLY

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THE MATTER OF JOINING THE NPT WOULD HAVE A GREAT EFFECT ON GLOBAL NONPROLIFERATION EFFORTS--AND NOT JUST ON THE NUCLEAR SIDE--BUT ALSO WOULD DEMONSTRATE CHINA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN NONPROLIFERATION EFFORTS, AS WELL AS SERVE AS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT CHINA WAS PART OF THE SOLUTION, NOT PART OF THE PROBLEM, ON IMPORTANT NONPROLIFERATION QUESTIONS.

10. WITH RESPECT TO CW, BARTHOLOMEW RECALLED SUCCESS HE AND ZHU HAD ACHIEVED PERSONALLY ON SPECIFIC CASES AND HE NOTED THAT HE WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS CHINA'S SUPPORT FOR EARLY, SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF A CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION. HE ALSO WOULD RAISE THE PROSPECTS FOR A DETAILED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON EXPORT CONTROL REGIMES FOR THE CONTROL OF CW PRECURSORS.

11. BARTHOLOMEW ADDED THAT HE WOULD ADDRESS REGIONAL COOPERATION ISSUES, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVE (ACME). HE SAID THAT THE PARIS MEETING WAS NOW SET FOR JULY 8-9, AND, IN RESPONSE TO ZHU'S QUERY, HE SAID THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD DEFINITELY BE ATTENDING THE PARIS MEETING. BARTHOLOMEW NOTED HE WOULD WANT TO TALK IN BEIJING ABOUT THE ISSUES THAT WOULD BE ADDRESSED IN PARIS AND CONSULT WITH THE CHINESE ABOUT OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS OF THE ACME AGENDA ON SOUTH ASIA. BARTHOLOMEW WOULD HAVE SOME CONCRETE IDEAS TO PRESENT TO THE CHINESE SIDE, AND HE WAS ALSO INTERESTED IN AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ABOUT NORTH KOREAN ISSUES.

12. BARTHOLOMEW ASKED ZHU TO CONVEY TO BEIJING HIS HOPE THAT THE CHINESE SIDE WOULD GIVE SOME THOUGHT TO THE ISSUANCE OF A JOINT STATEMENT OF SOME MUTUALLY AGREEABLE FORMAT. PARTICULARLY IF THERE WERE PROGRESS ON THE ISSUES HE HAD JUST RAISED, BARTHOLOMEW OBSERVED, SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD SERVE TO FRAME THE STORY OF HIS TRIP. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN LIGHT OF THE INTENSE PRESS AND CONGRESSIONAL SCRUTINY HIS PROSPECTIVE TRIP HAD RECEIVED.

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ZHU INTERJECTED THAT HE WAS AWARE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN BARTHOLOMEW'S TRIP, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO DEPUTY SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER'S HILL TESTIMONY ON JUNE 12. BARTHOLOMEW COMMENTED THAT IF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHINESE WERE POSITIVE ENOUGH, A JOINT STATEMENT COULD HAVE A VERY BENEFICIAL EFFECT ON THE DOMESTIC U.S. DEBATE ON CHINA POLICY.

13. BARTHOLOMEW CONCLUDED BY UNDERSCORING THAT WE SAW NONPROLIFERATION CONCERNS IMPORTANT IN THEIR OWN RIGHT BUT ALSO IMPORTANT AS ONE OF THE DEFINING ISSUES IN OUR APPROACH TO US-CHINA RELATIONS. HE STRESSED THE ACME INITIATIVE AS A MODEL OF OUR APPROACH TO MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY: WE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR COOPERATION AND A CONTRIBUTION FROM IMPORTANT COUNTRIES INCLUDING CHINA AND WE WANTED TO CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CHINA IN THAT VEIN.

14. ZHU SAID THE CHINESE SIDE ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO BARTHOLOMEW'S UPCOMING VISIT AND REMARKED THAT IT WAS GOOD TO GIVE BEIJING A PREVIEW OF THE AGENDA SO THAT HIS COLLEAGUES COULD PREPARE FOR BARTHOLOMEW'S VISIT AND MAKE THE MOST OF HIS TWO-AND-ONE-HALF DAY VISITS. [REDACTED]

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☐ ZHU CONCLUDED WITH A STATEMENT THAT HE HOPED THERE  
WOULD BE POSITIVE RESULTS FROM THE TRIF.

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